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301 Two other items, of purely ornamental character, were apparently part of the ancient daily dress of the men: a necklace of monkey or jaguar teeth and arm-bands decorated with feathers. In Spix's plate these are not shown, but Henry Lister Maw writes of "some rows of teeth round the neck and some feathers on his arms." Castelnau describes them as follows:

> ... la plupart d'entre eux portent aux bras de très curieux bracelets, qui sont fait d'un bouquet de plumes en forme de rou, d'une belle couleur orange, et qui proviennent de la queue d'une espèce d'Acari; ils les surmontent d'une outre [*sic*] bouquet de plumes flottantes arrachées aux ailes du Savacou, derrière lesquelles paraissent les longues pennes de la queue de l'Ara rouge. On voyait au cou de quelques uns un double collier de dents de tigre ou de singe.[8]

In Marcoy's plate, the Tukuna wear feathered arm bands (of cotton, according to the text) and a four-strand necklace of monkey teeth. In Barbosa Rodrígues' plate, arm bands also appear, as well as a double necklace of teeth: "The men wear great necklaces of pig's teeth ... and, on feast days, some arm bands made of macaw feathers, the arm bands proper being of small feathers of the scarlet macaw, and the ornaments being of blue and yellow tail feathers from the canindé
[281] macaw." Even today, the girls use similar arm bands during the puberty ceremony; the boys wear arm bands and necklaces of teeth in the hair-plucking and
[286] -clipping ceremony. Nowadays the ribbon of the arm band is mostly made of tucum thread woven or plaited on a small frame of rods (pl. 11, *b*).

291 Women's dress was formerly a very short section of cotton cloth around the hips. In 1929 I knew an Indian woman who was the only one who still wore this regularly, but the girls used it until a few years ago for the puberty ceremony (pl. 12, *d*). This cloth (napa'), measuring 105 by 36 cm., was of a relatively thin and coarse woven cotton cloth decorated with some longitudinal stripes of black.

286 These cloths, as well as the slings for carrying infants, are woven on a vertical, rectangular frame of rods (na:'pavëru), the threads of the warp being passed over the horizontal rods. The alternate raising of odd and even threads (*Fachbildung*) is accomplished by means of a system of threads (na:-a'pëtina, "navel"). (See pl. 8, *c*.) The woof is rolled over a small stick and spread apart with a wooden knife (tuë'përu). Tessmann denies that the Tukuna knew the art of weaving,[9] but even Marcoy mentions the tanga, and Barbosa Rodrígues writes of "a large tanga woven of cotton or turury which encircles the hips."

301 Rodrígues also reproduces the feather head ornament the men used to wear, which today has completely disappeared, describing it as follows: "... a large, feathered forehead band of the wings of the same macaw [*canindé*] edged with
[287] tiny red feathers and completed by four or five long tail feathers of the scarlet macaw in front." The plate shows this piece as a circlet of clipped feathers about twelve centimeters long, fastened together and mounted on a narrow band of some woven material, encircling the head; there are four very long feathers curving to the rear.

292 According to Tessmann, the headdress, called *nabátu* (i.e., na:-patëe), was made of the *Scheelea* (?) palm and feathers. My informants said this piece was a cotton bonnet with short toucan feathers attached to the woven material; it was used

[8] Castelnau, *loc. cit.*
[9] Tessmann, p. 561.

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only by chiefs, the last who wore it being the maternal grandfather of my informant Calixto daueru'kj. This is evidently the same object that Bates describes: "The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown." In his plate, the man leaning against a house post is evidently the chief with his regalia. 292 [237]

Artificial Body Deformation

The manner of cutting the hair was formerly the same for both sexes. It was trimmed straight across the forehead just above the eyebrows, the rest, which was never cut, being allowed to fall free to the shoulders and sides. All old portraits confirm this. For work, the men rolled up their long hair in back, confining it by means of a twist of hair from below the bun. Others braided it into a pigtail, rolling this up and securing it with a strip of envira. 302

The hair was smoothed with a small comb (tʊ:/mjᵃ), the teeth of which, made from the frondstalk of the anajá palm, were fastened by fibres interlaced ornamentally between two pairs of twigs. The last Indian who knew how to make these combs died a few years ago. Today the Tukuna wear their hair in Neobrazilian style and comb it with purchased combs. A few Indian youths follow the custom of allowing their hair to grow exaggeratedly over the forehead and combing, or rather tossing, it all to one side. The beard is not plucked, and thick eyebrows are considered handsome. [413] [177] [926]

Many Indians, especially the girls and children, are never completely free from lice, which, however, are not permitted to increase too much but are scrupulously captured and immediately eaten. But there are many individuals of both sexes who carefully keep themselves free of these parasites. 515

Ear piercing.—Formerly the Tukuna pierced the ear lobes of girls as often as those of boys, but nowadays only boys undergo the operation (paiči'ni). It is performed during the same ceremony in which the hair is plucked out from children, which formerly took place when the child was two years old; today it occurs at four years of age or over, the implement being a needle made of a bone of the parauacú monkey. The child's paternal aunt pierces the lobe with the instrument, while another relative grasps the point as it emerges on the other side and finishes drawing it through. In the hole thus made they insert a cotton cord and apply a bit of crushed round pepper (më'ë). No diet is imposed upon the victim, but he is prohibited from fighting with his companions lest the puncture suppurate and [the boy is told] become "the size of the head of the one with whom you fought." 304 852

Formerly, both sexes commonly put into the hole small plates of white wood (*ochroma*, according to Tessmann). On ceremonial occasions they wore in the ears small wands, the tips in front decorated with the red and black feathers of a small bird, the pore'në, the other end encircled by heron plumes. From this wand there hung a small plate of brass (pë'ru-pë'ru), half-moon shaped for the men (like a quiricá, fig. 4, *a*), triangular for the women. I do not know of what material these small plates were made before the Tukuna knew of brass. Even today the girls use these ear decorations at puberty ceremonies (pl. 12, *k*). 301 [237]

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304 *Piercing of the septum.*—The Tukúna have largely abandoned the practice of piercing the septum, which accompanied perforation of the ear lobes. When they [301] pierced it, they wore in the hole a wand of reed or canna brava called vẽ-ëra'ṅ (from vẽ, introduce; raṅ, nose).

[177] *Tooth filing.*—The Tukuna custom, which today has become quite common filing to points the upper incisors and, more rarely, the lower as well appear have been acquired by contact with the Neobrazilians. Yet the mother of one of my informants condemned the practice as improper and ugly and said that this operation was designed to prevent caries, which forms easily between the teeth—an explanation which is perhaps a secondary rationalization.

Tattooing.—The question of primitive tattooing among the Tukúna is difficult to settle satisfactorily; some writers probably took for tattooing what was actually [386] only painting with the juice of the genipa (*Genipa americana*), which is still widely used today.

304 Padre Monteiro Noronha, the first author to devote a small chapter to the tribe, says that they "have the same strokes [as their neighbors the Caca-tapiiya: 531 a wide black stroke, curled at the tip, which begins next to the nose and ends at 114 the sides of both ears] but narrower and shorter." Martius mentions "eine oder zwei schmale, quer über das Gesicht laufende, tätowierte Linien. Doch findet sich dieses Merkmal keineswegs gleichmässig." Castelnau writes: "D'autres avaient sur les joues deux lignes noires transversales," without indicating whether the lines are painted or tattooed.

One of Marcoy's plates shows a male Tukuna with a double stroke or line in the shape of a loop that begins next to the ear and ends in a small cross on the cheek with an extension to the corner of the mouth. Bates writes: "Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short, straight lines on the face." His illustration represents the Indians with two short, parallel lines on each cheek, extending slightly to the side of the nose. Orton, who as far as the Tukuna are concerned seems to have copied Bates, describes them as "tattooed in numbers of short, straight lines on the face." Lastly, the Tukuna of Barbosa Rodrígues has on each cheek a curved line (the curvature pointing downward) from the nose to the ear, and another almost parallel line that begins at the corner of the mouth. There is no indication whether these are painted or tattooed.

304 Today there is not a single Tukuna with tattoo on the face, the bit that appears [179] on their arms being an imitation of Neobrazilians.

304 According to Nino, my best Tukuna informant, tattooing came to the tribe from 171 the ču'mana (Yumána) Indians. These people, however, used an oval network 531 pattern surrounding the mouth, with ramifications of the design extending to the ears. Nino told me that the members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', used formerly to tattoo the cheeks in imitation of the markings of macaws. The lines of the design were first drawn in by burnt *cicantã* resin and were then punctured by a needle.

304 Another informant told me that "those who were learned" had the figure of a 531 crayfish, *caranguejo*, and a scorpion tattooed on the forearm or on the back of the hand, and that the dye was the juice of a plant called bu'rẽ (see p. 42).

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V. ART

Sculpture and Painting

532 517 In the field of native art the Tukuna have not only preserved the traditions of their ancestors but have even developed them. Above all, the Tukuna have a curious bent toward sculpture. An Indian, seeing a large, misshapen tree trunk floating near the edge of a lake, will repair to his canoe, lay hands on his hatchet, and give the log the outlines of an enormous alligator. Observing a rounded termites' nest hanging from a high branch bent over the igapó, he will stop, climb up with his machete, and, with perilous acrobatics, transform it into the horrid grimace of a demon. Any knot on a thick tree trunk within reach of his hands invariably receives similar treatment. A Tukuna rubber gatherer I once saw had decorated his smoking hearth with plastic figures of animals. (See p. 48.)

The sculptured figures of men and women (pl. 9, *b*) made of muirapiranga, an extremely heavy wood, toys for children, and so forth, are not very artistic; but one finds among the representations of animals (pl. 9, *c*, *d*) very handsome works of art, starting with small stools in the form of turtles or bats. The Tukuna taste for sculpture, however, is displayed more strikingly in two classes of objects: dance staves and necklaces of figurines from tucumã palm nuts.

532 293 The dance staves (dɔ:'pa), made of a light, white wood and from one to one and a half meters long, are used at ceremonies, the same staff never being used on two occasions. They are carried over the left shoulder; the lower end generally has a hook or button from which is suspended a small drum to be struck with the right hand. The upper part of the staff, which rests on the shoulder, has usually four planed surfaces and is decorated by one or more carved figures, interspersed with geometric designs, the whole being painted in bright colors (pl. 14, *a–f*).

532 ●301 The figurines of the necklaces are carved of tucumã palm nuts (*Astrocaryum* sp.), generally tucumã piranga, but sometimes ordinary tucumã or anajá nuts (*Maximiliana regia*) are used. The first two have a surface of brilliant jet, the third is a clear, brown color. The figures are of men firing with a shotgun, women with children, a girl in the puberty-ceremony costume, pairs of dancers, or an infinity of animals, from the crab louse (*úra*) to the jaguar. These little figurines, separated only by rows of seeds or glass beads, make very striking necklaces (pl. 13).

532 463 In the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there are a brother and sister, Flavio pi'ë and Raimunda ę'kirane, thirty and thirty-five years old, respectively, who are the best artists in this line. Their products are sought by neighboring Indians and by those of other igarapés, where their motifs are later imitated. Raimunda does not limit herself to copying live models; she showed me a goodly number of figurines which were pure fantasy, and others which she "saw in a dream." For his part, pi'ë likes to reproduce motifs seen in prints of civilized origin. Thus, he carved a dragon, the trade-mark of a certain marketed product, and the United States eagle, complete with the shield of stars and stripes on its breast.

531 The Tukuna produce far less painting than sculpture, partly because of their extremely primitive technique, for the Tukuna have not yet invented or adopted

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ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated.

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan ĕẽ'vẽ'ru, the name of a small kind of auahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurẽ' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna.

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe.

It is said that the members of the clan tẽ'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyɔi', after fishing, in the company of his brother e'pí, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruzy* was sent from heaven by ta-ẽ' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value.

The personal name.—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation.

Clan ĕiva'
(Seringarana; jaguar)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ vanẽ'-k]	false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man	vanẽ', false; k], masc name suffix
♂ nu'ẽ'tʃ-k]	evil-eyed [jaguar]	nu', bad; ẽ'tʃ, eye

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.

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844 held behind on the hammock, and the woman assistant embraces her from behind. The umbilical cord is tied with cotton thread and cut with a small sliver of bamboo or canna brava. Even today an iron instrument is not used for this purpose. The wound is lightly cauterized, being touched once or twice with charcoal from a small tree gnawed round in circular fashion by a certain insect. The afterbirth is called na:'ana/(mouth) "because the child in the maternal womb nourishes itself by it"; it is buried at the place of birth.

847 *Infanticide.*—Infanticide immediately after birth occurs, though rarely, and then usually of an unmarried woman's offspring, the child being buried alive. In general, the Tukuna consider it a great sin, which ta-ẽ' will surely punish. An Indian I knew whose unmarried daughter became pregnant suspected her of planning infanticide and threatened her with death should she carry out her intention. Another reason for infanticide is that the child is "disqualified." For example, when dɔ'tanjna had a child by a mestizo, the son of a Tukuna woman, her own father did not wish her to raise it, hence she buried it alive. After death an [775] infanticide ascends to heaven with the child's corpse held crosswise in her mouth, "like a bitch carrying her whelp."

842 Many Tukuna fathers show an exaggerated preference for male children, to the detriment of daughters. I once, quite intimately, observed the disgust of a couple with their first-born, merely because it was a girl; they became vexed to the point of planning to kill her some weeks after birth. However, the mother's brother, as protector of his niece, reproached and threatened the couple so unmistakably that they never again dared discuss the subject.

846 *After the birth.*—The newborn child's mouth is immediately cleansed and the 856 skull is manipulated, being pressed laterally between the fingers into the proper shape. The infant's body is washed in tepid water, the mother's in hot water. With a little stick a bit of the umbilical blood is rubbed on the child's cheeks so that they may become ruddy, just as a little of the first feces is rubbed on the eyebrows to make them grow thick and black, a feature very much esteemed. The Mongoloid birthmark on the skin of the sacral region is also attributed to these first feces. After the hammock and the mosquito bar are taken down, the platform is knocked apart, the tururí cloth is buried, and the midwife, followed by the mother, carries the child to the house.

751 Even before the birth the midwife takes care to scrape genipapo, with which 846 the child is painted from head to toe on the first day, an old custom instituted by the culture hero dyai' (see p. 128). This is considered an efficient protection against any evil that might befall the newborn infant. It is also the custom to [301] thread small bits of the root of a grass called ma'i'a-arj-ĕu'pį (*peripeŕį* [?], "of otter") as beads, tying them around the child's wrist and hand.

846 Father and mother must be cautious and must diet until the umbilical cord drops off. The mother sallies forth from her mosquito bar only to attend to her necessities and to bathe herself with tepid water; both parents eat only small fish, small birds, bananas, and manioc cakes, avoiding all acid foods. Except for going to the river to bathe, the father may not leave the house grounds, and he is for- [824] bidden to touch a firebrand, a paddle, an ax, or a bow. If he touches his bow, the child will develop a crooked spine and become a hunchback.

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852 girls' ear lobes are pierced. The direction of this feast (pai-či'n[), as that of the painting ceremony, falls to the paternal aunt. Both follow the procedures common [604] to all the rites of passage, which are described in detail in connection with the puberty ceremony.

Spix relates that at the ceremony which he personally attended in Tabatinga (though from the evidence he apparently witnessed it only from afar!) the hair was plucked from a child two months old, and he says that this ceremony frequently cost the life of the child![1] But the boy shown in his plate "Maskenzug der Ticunas" has a bald head, is held in a woman's arms (it should be in a carrying sling), and appears to be about two years old. In any case, I have never seen or heard of a single instance where this operation caused the slightest harm to the child.

The hair-plucking ceremony, celebrated with all the elaboration of the major festivals, lasts two or three days. On the morning of the second day the child is [302] decorated with thick urucú paint on which hawk plumage is glued (pl. 12, *o*). Horizontal lines are painted to encircle the arms, forearms, thighs, and legs; two vertical lines are drawn on the front of the torso and two behind, and spots are daubed on the cheeks and forehead. On the arms are placed bands made from feathers (see p. 37), other bands are placed on the legs. In the process of weaving these bands, short locks of hair from one of the child's relatives are inserted.

[301] A boy has a necklace of monkey teeth placed about the neck, and he is dressed in a double tanga of painted white tururí cloth (see p. 36). For a girl, a tanga of cotton cloth is used, for which nowadays purchased material is substituted. Pectoral strings of beads complete the feminine attire. Today, even though the child [482] undergoing this ceremony has already passed far beyond the age where it requires the carrying sling, the aunt seats it in a sling of tururí ornamented with painted triangles and dances with it thus in the midst of the guests. The ears are pierced in the manner described on page 38. Before the hair plucking no drug is given to the child. I observed that the children differ individually very much in sensitiveness. All the children cry quite enough, but it was extraordinary to see a boy at [152] least four years old struggle and bellow so desperately that a man had to hold him while three women were plucking his hair. In the end, the little one was completely exhausted and without a vestige of the ornaments worn at the beginning of the ceremony. His mother, seated near by without taking part, eyed her son with an indignant look and with evident disgust at his deportment, which appeared to shame her.

Some eight months afterward the child celebrates the dyupa'këë (na-pa'këë, forehead), a complementary feast of slight importance during which the hair, by then grown anew, is clipped straight across the forehead. On the same occasion the leftover decorations from the preceding ceremony, which have been kept on purpose, are burned.

857 *Childhood.*—The lives of children run a rather monotonous course, owing to the lack of opportunity for them to associate with one another. Once in a great while, 524 with the exception of a feast, where the preoccupation is different, one may see a number of them joined in play. Their toys are dolls of muirapiranga wood (see

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188.

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The paternal uncle selects three persons from among those present, preferably from the clans of the vərẽkį̣'s moiety, and hands them the genipapo and the two wooden mallets. A man, beating a small drum, and a woman with a rattle stick remain standing to one side, as is customary in all ceremonial acts, while the other guests continue their march around the group to the sound of the drums. The man holding the genipapo lets loose a loud, prolonged cry: "yę!" The chorus responds with the same yell, and immediately the three persons selected fall to their task, one scraping genipapo, the other two peeling off the tururí bark by rhythmic beating with the malletes.

From time to time, for the three workers the uncle substitutes three others; to scrape genipapo he calls upon women as well as men. Slowly the tururí bark, turned inside out, begins to descend, and the mass of scraped genipapo mounts higher on the nu^{a}u^{a} leaves. However, before this work is started, the paternal uncle goes to the girl's retreat to close her nostrils by a magic gesture that consists of twisting something; if she smells the odor of genipapo prematurely, she will die. Out in the enclosure is heard the blast of the uaricánas. The vərẽkį̣'s mother goes to the seclusion room to measure the length needed for the tururí fringes of the armbands. As soon as the two pieces of tururí are peeled to this length, the bark is pulled back to its natural position, and the two bark tubes are separated from the wood simultaneously by a circular cut. The scraper is placed in the basket, the leaves containing the genipapo pulp in front of it, the two peeled logs to the side, and the tubes of tururí are doubled and placed on top. It is now 5 A.M.

Shortly thereafter the genipapo scrapings are squeezed. The paternal uncle with his clan companion, both clutching rattle sticks and accompanied by drummers, carry the two pieces of tururí in a solemn procession to the water's edge, where they remove the outer bark, being careful to give a sudden jerk to both pieces at the same time, and lift each into the air while a cry of "yę:!" comes from all participants. The pieces are washed carefully until they become whitish, after which the performers carry them back with true solemnity, marching with them round the feast house three or four times before entering. The sections of bark are opened by a lengthwise incision and are hung on the uaricána enclosure to dry in the sun.

The painting of the girl.—Now follows the ritual of painting the girl with the previously prepared genipapo dye. A basin containing the dye and two corncobs is placed in the uaricána enclosure, from which the instruments have already been removed at daybreak. The women open the little door of the seclusion room which opens into the enclosure and lead out the vərẽkį̣, who is completely naked; she covers her eyes with her hands to protect them from the sunlight.

On her knees and ankles she wears narrow bands woven of tucum (formerly of cotton). Once in the enclosure, she is placed erect on the leaves containing the squeezed genipapo pulp, facing toward the side belonging to her moiety. However, on two occasions when I was present the vərẽkį̣ stood on a large, flattened ball of tucum fibers, which her uncle removed at the end of the ceremony. She had made these threads during the period of her seclusion, to prove that she would be a hard-working girl and in gratitude to her uncle for all his care of her.

The enclosure is full of women. One of them arranges the vərẽkį̣'s hair—the locks of the forehead are drawn to the front, the others to the back—tying them

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made of the pieces of white tururí the preparation of which began the ceremony. About two or three o'clock in the afternoon all is ready (pl. 12, *a–k*), and the vərëkị's male and female relatives try the pieces on themselves, the men and women alternately dancing with them.

In general, the vərëkị is decorated before sunset, within the uaricána enclosure, or in the seclusion room if it is already dark and the uaricánas have been returned. The girl again stands facing in the proper cardinal direction. In addition to the black dye which she has already received, she is now painted with urucú as well, on which hawk plumage is glued. She receives a cotton tanga, and over it is placed a kind of wide belt or tanga of strings of white glass beads of an antiquated type; she also receives pectorals of glass beads. Then ornaments are placed on her arms: bracelets woven with toucan throat feathers, long macaw (eanindé) feathers thrust vertically into the bracelet, and the fringes of white tururí.

In front and back, falling from the neck to the hips, are two or more cordons of white tururí, each one with between fifteen and twenty toucan tails, which have been removed in one piece with the white abdominal feathers of the birds, interspersed with bird skins with bright plumage and snailshell rattles with bone clappers. Finally, on the vərëkị's head is placed the crown of tail feathers from the red macaw and plumes from the heron and royal hawk (pl. 12, *a*). If the ceremony takes place within the uaricána enclosure, the vərëkị takes care to cover her eyes with the tururí fringes. Then one of the women brings a heap of nu"u" leaves, which she distributes among the others; the vərëkị squats on her heels; all walk slowly round her and tap her lightly with the leaves, reversing the direction of march several times. At last all shout in chorus: "dyę:!" and throw the leaves on top of the roof thatch. Perhaps it was this ceremony that Marcoy, without having seen it, wished to reproduce, and that appeared in his plate as a scene of flagellation.

The vərëkị is again locked up in the seclusion room, where she must stand until the hour of release on the following dawn, with her hands supported on a horizontal beam and her face turned to the correct quarter of the house wall, behind which the musical instruments sound without interruption. She is not permitted to scratch herself with her nails, but must use a personal little stick, thrust behind her into the house thatch. According to one of my informants, in the old days, for this purpose a piece of wood was carved in the form of a hand with the fingers curled.

The festive mush (*mogica*).—At nightfall the vərëkị's relatives bring a large pot full of mush (mogica) from the kitchen to the house. This food is distributed among the guests, who eat it, then continue to dance and drink through the night until about two or three o'clock in the morning, when it is time to remove the vərëkị definitely from seclusion.

Removal of the girl from seclusion.—The paternal uncle, his wife, the vərëkị's mother, her female relatives, and some brother or cousin enter the seclusion room by the side door. They seize the girl very carefully on each side, pull the feather crown down over her eyes, and begin to dance with her, as well as the space will permit, always four paces forward to the front wall and four paces back.

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PLATE 2

Children of mɨ̈ɨ̈'tʃna (pl. 3, *a*), Igarapé da Rita. *a*. Genezio tanɨ̈'kʃ, aged twenty-five. *b*. Manoel nuⁿɨ̈'tʃ-kʃ, aged sixteen. *c*. Avelina ɛ̈ita'na, aged twenty. *d*. Beloca bu':-nɨ̈-na, aged twelve.

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a

b

[301]

c

d

CHILDREN OF MĒ̃TÍNH, MARAPÉ DA RITA

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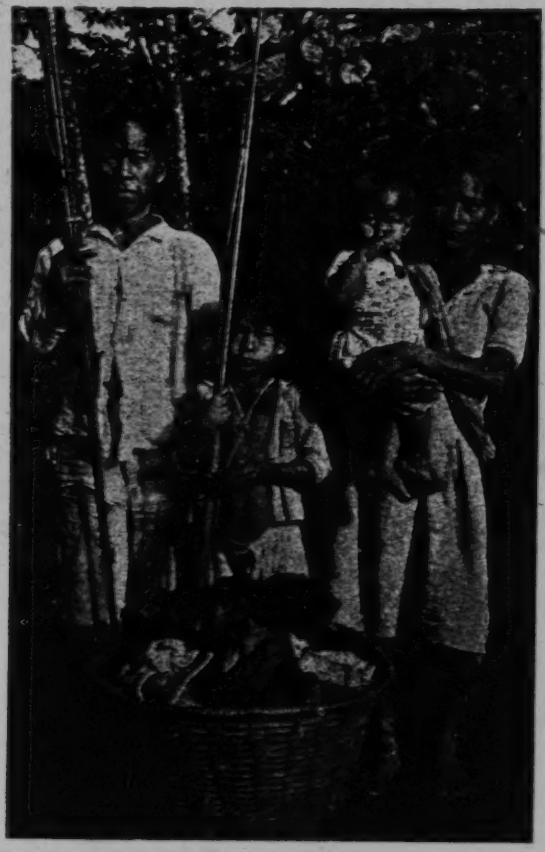

A VISITING FAMILY

[p. 178 contains no text]

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 12

Ornaments for ceremonies. *a–k*. Girl's ornaments for puberty ceremony. *a–k*. × 1/12. *a*. Feather crown. *b*. Cords with toucan feathers. *c*. Snailshell bells. *d*. Cotton tanga. *e*. Armband. *f*. Tufts of feathers for armband. *g*. White tururi feathers for armband. *h*. Tail feathers of the macaw for armband. *i*. Knee band. *j*. Ankle band. *k*. Ear ornaments. *l–q*. Boy's ornaments for hair-plucking ceremony. *l–q*. × 1/4. *l*. Monkey-tooth necklace. *m*. Small tanga of tururi cloth. *n*. Armband. *o*. Feather tuft for armband. *p*. Knee band. *q*. Ankle band.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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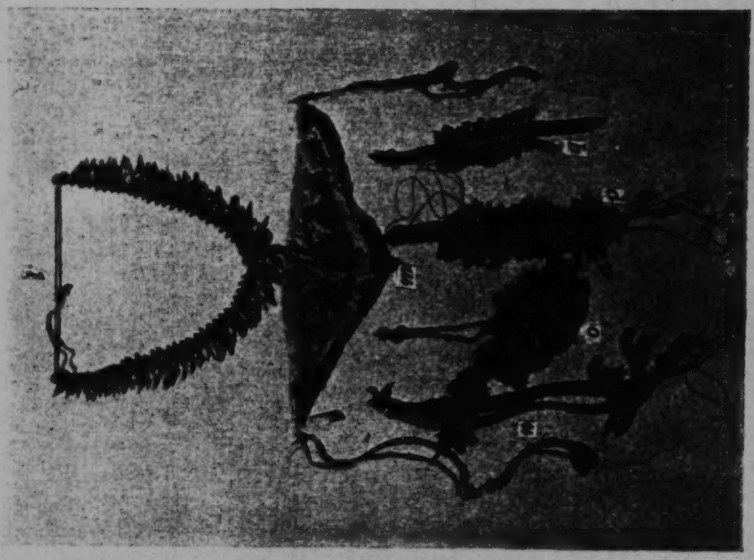
[NIMUENDAJU] PLATE 12



ORNAMENTS FOR CEREMONIES

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[P. 193]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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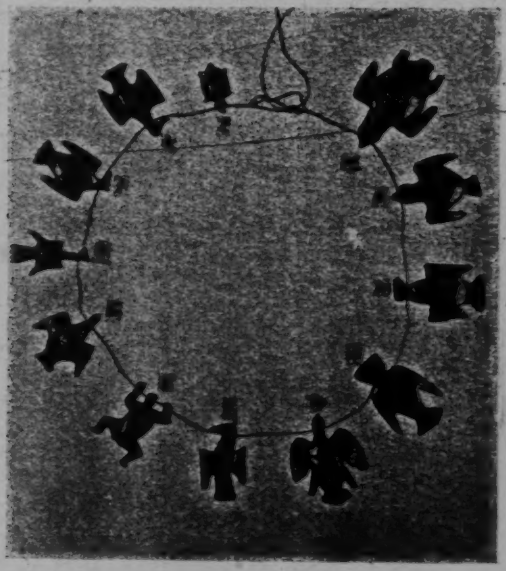

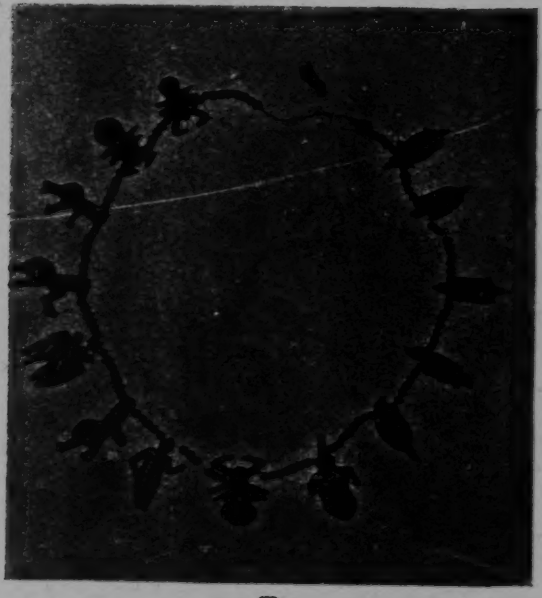

NECKLACES OF FIGURINES

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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PLATE 65.—Tucuna Indians of the 19th century. *Top:* Part of girl's puberty ceremony. (After Marcoy, 1869.) *Bottom:* Tucuna of the upper Amazon; a *Mundurucú* woman in center. (After Osculati, 1854.)

[p. 714 B]

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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PLATE 13

Necklaces of tucumã and anajá-nut figurines. Figurines in necklace at top represent the following: *a*. Hummingbird. *b*. Small bird. *c*. Maguary. *d*. Angel with a tail? (seen in a print). *e*, *k*. Buzzard. *f*. Small bird. *g*. Man. *i*, *j*, *k*. Cigana. *l*. Armadillo. × ⅓. *m*. Necklace of figurines. × ⅓

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2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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Each residence has a proper name, given by the owner at a special feast. Houses are usually clean. 552 356

Household furniture.—Hammocks are made by a netlike technique of tucum thread of different colors; they are now used only for daytime resting. Clothes are kept in large baskets. 513 286

On the struts and rafters of the house one can often see remnants of the paraphernalia of feasts: masks, turury fringes, drums, and dance sticks. Ears of maize hang from the frame of the house or are piled in the loft. 352

The *Tucuna* never build a fire or eat in the dwelling. The kitchen is always a small separate house. Fire was formerly produced by drilling a horizontal piece of wood, which was placed over two cross pieces. There is, however, a tradition that even in old times they made fire by striking two stones. [343] 372

Fire fans are made exclusively of large bird wings. [412]

The *Tucuna* have plenty of small four-legged stools, either rectangular or oval, made from a single piece of wood, sometimes elaborately carved in the shape of a chelonian or batrachian. 352 532

TRANSPORTATION

Formerly, the *Tucuna* traveled largely on land, although on the small streams they used small primitive canoes made of paxiuba palm. From the *Omagua* they learned to make "ubá" type dugout canoes, and from the Neo-Brazilians to make "casco" type dugouts which were widened by heating them over a fire. These are sometimes provided with round shields (rodellas) and gunwales. *Tucuna* canoes are so well made that civilized people seek them. Paddles have crutch handles and a round blade with a large point. The blade and the crosspiece on the end of the handle, but not the handle, are invariably painted black. 501 [177]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Formerly, both sexes trimmed their hair slightly over the brows, and used a comb made of twigs held between two parallel sticks. 302

Both sexes used to pierce their ear lobes; only women do so now. Through the hole they usually wore little plates of white wood; on feast days they inserted small rods with feathers on the front end, from which a small metal plate hung. Women's plates were triangular, men's moon-shaped. Long ago they pierced the nasal septum, through which they had put a little rod of *Gynerium*. They also used to tattoo the face, which at one time may have indicated clans. There are still recollections of circumcision of girls, but not of men, as described by Father Noronha in 1768. 304 301 [174] [114]

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2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The colour of these natives recalled that of old mahogany. A thick rough mane of hair covered their shoulders. The man was decorated on each cheek with tattoo-marks of a deep blue, produced with the juice of the *Pseudo-Añil indigofera*, the design of which somewhat resembled the Chinese letters on a tea-chest. He wore round his neck a necklace made of three or four rows of monkeys' teeth mounted on an osier framework; a brassart of woven cotton, ornamented with a bunch of yellow feathers and surmounted with a crest composed of the long feathers of the ara, was fastened just below the shoulder of each arm; bracelets of a similar material, but without the *pompon* or crest, encircled his legs above the ankles; and a peculiar girdle round his loins completed his attire. In his hand he carried a lance of palm-wood, with a notched point. The woman had neither the hieroglyphic marks on her face nor

CANOE OF THE TICUNA INDIANS ON THE RIVER AYACOARI.

the crested bracelets on her arm. She wore a necklace of red glass beads, acquired in one of her husband's transactions with the Brazilians. A band of woven cotton adorned the lower part of her legs, and a belt of the same material, none too wide, encircled her loins.

This little group, dimly seen in the faint light of the quebrada, and standing out in relief against the rich back-ground of vegetation, through which the blue sky was here and there visible, presented a charming subject for a sketch, of which I proceeded to take advantage. Having stopped the canoe, my companion amused the two Ticunas while I set to work to paint them. Puzzled by my occupation as much as by the intentness with which I regarded them, the couple exchanged some observations in an idiom with which I was unacquainted, and in the utterance of which they appeared to use their throat rather than their tongue. The gutturals of Hebrew, the double consonants of the Quichua tongue, the G, the Jotas and the X of the Castilian, are sounds of the softest melody compared with the vocal gurgling of these Ticunas,

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

whose words I afterwards tried to express in musical notation, despairing ever to write them in syllables. 194

Like most of the river-tribes, these Ticunas understood the Tupi dialect, and spoke 191

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TYPICAL PORTRAIT OF A TICUNA INDIAN.

it a little. Our men learned, from their inquiries as to our unexpected meeting at such an hour, that the natives had visited their plantation in order to gather the banana and yucca which they were then taking home. This store, providing sustenance for a week, assured them of passing the whole of this time in idleness, swinging in a ham- 222

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possessing its pajé or medicine man, who fosters its superstitions; but they are much more idle and debauched than other Indians belonging to the superior tribes. They are not so warlike and loyal as the Mundurucús, although resembling them in many respects, nor have they the slender figures, dignified mien, and gentle disposition of the Passés; there are, however, no trenchant points of difference to distinguish them from these highest of all the tribes. Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short straight lines on the face. Most of the older people wear bracelets, anklets, and garters of tapir-hide or tough bark; in their homes they wear no other dress except on festival days, when they ornament themselves with feathers or masked cloaks made of the inner bark of a tree. They were very shy when I made my first visits to their habitations in the forest, all scampering off to the thicket when I approached, but on subsequent days they became more familiar, and I found them a harmless, good-natured people.

A great part of the horde living at the first Maloca or village dwell in a common habitation, a large oblong hut built and arranged inside with such a disregard of all symmetry, that it appeared as though constructed by a number of hands, each working independently, stretching a rafter or fitting in a piece of thatch, without reference to what his fellow-labourers were doing. The walls as well as the roof are covered with thatch of palm-leaves, each piece consisting of leaflets plaited and attached in a row to a lath many feet in length. Strong upright posts support the roof, hammocks being slung between them, leaving a free space for passage and for fires in the middle, and on one side is an elevated stage (*girao*) overhead, formed of split palm-stems. The Tucúnas excel most of the other tribes in the manufacture of pottery. They make broad-mouthed jars, for Tucupí sauce, caysúma or mandioca beer, capable of holding twenty or more gallons, ornamenting them outside with crossed diagonal streaks of various colours. These jars, with cooking-pots, smaller jars for holding water, blow-pipes, quivers, matirí bags* full of small articles, baskets, skins of animals, and so forth, form the principal part of the furniture of their huts, both large and small. The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large jars under the floors of their huts.

The semi-religious dances and drinking bouts usual amongst the settled tribes of Amazonian Indians are indulged in to greater excess by the Tucúnas than they are by most other tribes. The Juruparí or Demon is the only superior being they have any conception of, and his name is mixed up with all their ceremonies, but it is difficult to ascertain what they consider to be his attributes. He seems to be believed in simply as a mischievous imp, who is at the bottom of all those mishaps

* These bags are formed of remarkably neat twine made of Bromelia fibres elaborately knitted, all in one piece, with sticks; a belt of the same material, but more closely woven, being attached to the top to suspend them by. They afford good examples of the mechanical ability of these Indians. The Tucúnas also possess the art of skinning and stuffing birds, the handsome kinds of which they sell in great numbers to passing travellers.

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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776 of their daily life, the causes of which are not very immediate or obvious to their dull understandings. It is vain to try to get information out of

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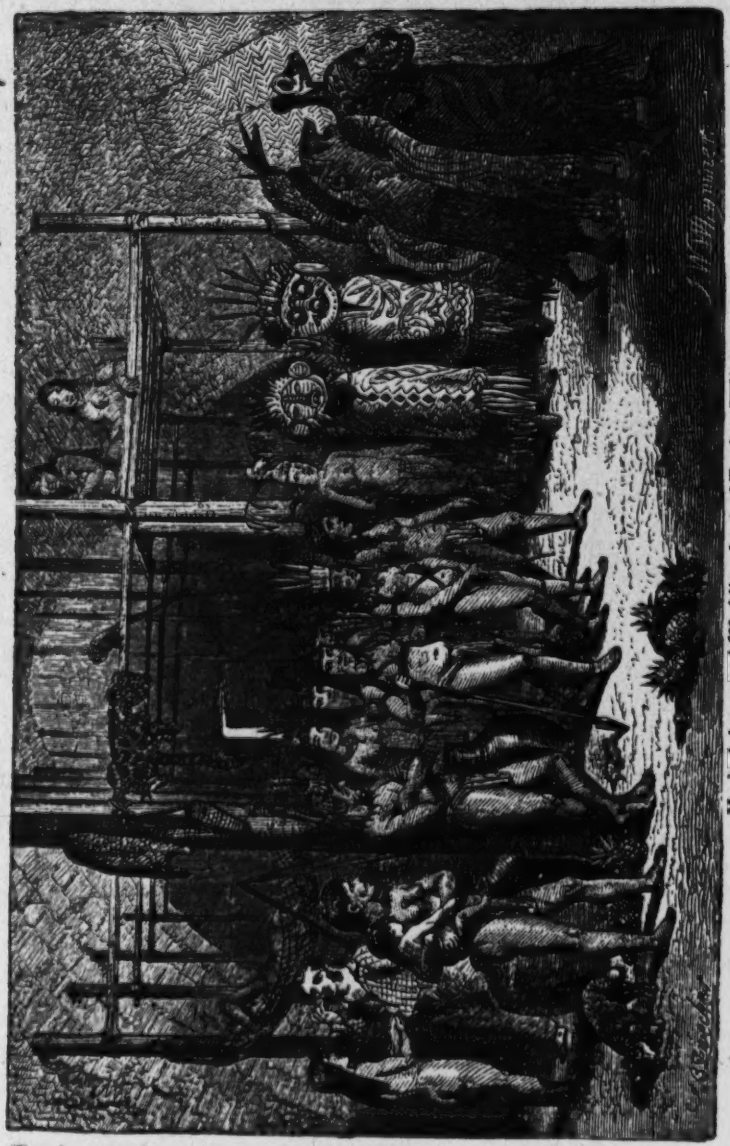

Masked dance and Wedding-feast of Tucúna Indians.

776 a Tucúna on this subject; they affect great mystery when the name is mentioned, and give very confused answers to questions: it was clear,